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Fall of Vajpayee Government: Welcome Development

The defeat of the confidence motion moved by Vajpayee Government and its consequent fall after 13 months rule is a positive development to be welcomed by all progressive forces. It is also reflection of the mounting people's resistance against the anti-people, anti-national rule of these communal fascist forces. But it in no way reduces the danger posed by the communal fascist forces. At this juncture, the formation of a Congress-led Government with the same economic agenda and compromising attitude towards all communal forces is not going to help the struggle against the communal fascist danger. on the contrary, such opportunistic alliances shall only help the Sangh Parivar for-

ces to recoup their strength.

What is required today is a people's alternative under the initiative of the left forces with an anti-imperialist democratic programme to fight against the reactionary liberalisation-globalisation policies and against growing fascist threats posed by Hindutva forces. Only such an alternative can carry forward the people's resistance as manifested in the last 11th December general strike and through numerous other struggles.

New Delhi
17 April, 1999.

C. P. I (M L) Red Flag.

IMF-Imperialists' Misery Foundation

Today, the neo-liberal* financial crisis that started in South East Asia, where "all that was solid sublimed into air" and then completed the ruin of Russia, is now threatening Brazil - the world's eighth largest economy. The Brazilian Real fell by 10% in one day.

Now we all know that crises, slumps and recessions are an integral part of capitalism, but the neo-liberal economists, ideologists and the IMF don't like this truth, and so hide it behind other "causes".

No doubt the International Monetary Fund will come up with a huge "bail out" loan for Brazil, but we must think that this is in any way altruistic, or beneficial, far from it.

And as sure as night follows day, so demands for Brazil to "reform" its economy, that is increase taxation, force wages down, slash public spending on vital and already badly underfunded sectors like housing, health and education.

As usual, the People, who gained least or nothing during the "good" times, will now have to pay to maintain the capitalist's profits during the neo-liberal crisis they didn't create.

How will this affect the residents of the favelas, the slums, the landless rural workers, and popular farmers?

If the crisis is severe, then the effects on them will be bad. Unemployment will rise, low wages will fall more, the small government assistance they receive will be cut away, the chances of land reform for the millions of landless peasants who demand it will decrease, food will become even more unaffordable, more people will flood into cities and favelas that already get 1000 new residents every day...poverty and misery will increase.

A capitalist paradise in short-cheap, expendable labour, more power and wealth in fewer hands, and all guaranteed and backed up by the security of the IMF.

This is the sad spectacle that faces Brazil today, and it is no catastrophist scare mongering either. It already exists in Brazil. It will just get worse. We can see an advanced case already in Central America, especially Nicaragua. There, in Nicaragua the Somocista so-called Liberal Party has given in to every one of the IMF's demand of "structural reforms" in the country's economy, in return for loans allegedly to rebuild Nicaragua's economy that was devastated by an economic blockade and Contra war, both implemented by the US.

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EDITORIAL

RALLY TO BUILD-UP PEOPLE'S ALTERNATIVE

The fall of Vajpayee government is a welcome development. It was carrying forward the IMF-World Bank dictated liberalisation-globalisation policies to unprecedented levels and indulging in all heinous acts for intensifying fascist threats in all walks of life. During its 13 months-long régime through its two budgets and all other economic policies like Export-import policies, amending existing patent act and privatising insurance sector to suit WTO conditions etc, the hollowness of its 'Swadeshi' is exposed. It shamelessly pushed through neocolonisation further enslaving our country to MNCs and market system, impoverishing the vast masses of people. Side by side, in order to divert attention from these anti-national anti people policies Vajpayee government at the behest of Sangh Parivarists unleashed communal fascist frenzy against minorities, dalits, adivasis and all democratic forces. Against these the toiling masses and progressive people have waged numerous struggles as reflected in the December 11 general strike and numerous other democratic actions. Though the fall of Vajpayee government happened through the infighting of its own allies it is also a reflection of growing opposition to it from the people.

In these critical days the Congress leadership acted in line with its arch-reactionary character. During BJP government's tenure Congress was repeating that it will not do anything to destabilise the government. It joined hands with BJP to carry forward reactionary economic reforms. And now when Vajpayee government fell it indulged in nefarious moves to install its own minority government scuttling the formation of an alternate government. As it is the reactionary economic and communal appeasement policies of Congress during its very long rule that led to ascendance of BJP to power, the growing danger from communal fascist forces and the intensifying economic crisis caused by liberalisation policies cannot be fought by making any compromise with Congress or allying with it in any form,

In this grave situation the immediate task in front of the left forces is to build up a genuine left alternative with an anti-imperialist democratic programme fighting against both BJP and Congress. Instead of doing this, CPI (M), CPI leaderships are shamelessly trailing behind Congress. And the United Front and Third Alternative initiated by them have collapsed due to utter opportunism. They refuse to see the relation between growing threats of economic crisis and communal fascist danger, and implement the very same liberalisation policies in the states they are in power. Their earlier advocacy for a Congress-led minority government and later willingness to lead alternative government fully expose the degeneration of CPI (M), CPI leaderships to social democratic positions.

In this situation, only the revolutionary left forces with an anti-imperialist democratic programme can combat and defeat the grave threats posed by imperialist-dictated economic policies and growing danger from communal fascist forces by building up a genuine left or people's alternative. Such a People's Alternative uniting all toiling masses, and all progressive, democratic, secular forces and sections is the immediate need of the hour. Through this process we should consciously develop the anti-BJP, anti-Congress sentiments among the masses into anti-imperialist consciousness, to democratic and socialist consciousness. We call upon all those who are dedicated to the cause of the people and the country to get united at this most critical time in the history of our country to develop this People's Alternative as an immediate task.

29 April 1999.

On the genesis of growing fascist threats

The question of growing threat of fascism in India was widely discussed here during the 1970s. The beginning of the decade of 1970s was marked by two significant factors. One, the vertical split in Congress reducing Indira Gandhi government to a minority supported one. Two, the emergence of the revolutionary left forces who launched countrywide anti-feudal struggles by taking up arms. To face these challenges Indira Gandhi government manoeuvring a majority in the Lok Sabha by managing the support of social democratic forces and the revisionist sections including CPI(M), CPI and by signing a military treaty with Soviet Union which had already abandoned socialist path and had degenerated to social-imperialist positions, adopted a two-pronged offensive. On the one hand, utilising the schism then developing in the East Bengal of then united Pakistan, it resorted to large scale militarisation and to declaration of external emergency. National jingoist slogans were propagated. Soon Indian army entered East Bengal, defeated and arrested the Pak army contingents there, helped the formation of Bangladesh with Soviet help, and in the process Indira Gandhi was projected as 'Durga', the goddess. From RSS to revisionists all joined hands in this national chauvinist and communalist image-building.

On the other hand, utilising this atmosphere the state forces and hired hoodlums in large numbers were let loose to resort to large scale massacres and suppression of the revolutionary left forces. To facilitate this, even the CPI (M) cadres in Bengal were selectively tortured and suppressed. The election to Bengal assembly in 1971 was rigged in large scale ensuring Congress (I)-CPI victory. The sweeping victory of Congress (I) in the Lok Sabha elections emboldened Indira Gandhi regime to resort to more autocratic, dictatorial measures. While the revolutionary left and most of the democratic forces called it a fascist offensive, even the CPI (M) leadership was compelled to call it semi-fascist.

As the economic crisis gripping the imperialist system from early 1970s had started gravely affecting Indian economy and polity also, in spite of massive majority in Lok Sabha and

the brutal crushing of the revolutionary forces, Indira Gandhi regime soon had to confront people's revolts in Gujarat, Bihar and elsewhere. Working class and peasantry also came forward through various strike struggles and mass movements. Faced with unprecedented challenges from these growing opposition, Indira Gandhi regime resorted to large scale attacks on these movements and then declared internal emergency in 1975. All the civil rights were denied and large scale suppression started. Except Congress (I) and its native collaborators, and their Soviet backers, all popular forces depicted this as a heinous fascist offensive. But within the Indian ruling classes and in the imperialist camp, especially between the then two superpowers there were sharp differences on these developments. These contradictions got reflected in later Indian developments. With the defeat of Congress (I) in 1977 elections, the emergency was revoked and many fascist measures of the emergency period temporarily disappeared. But in later years as all the social contradictions went on sharpening giving rise to numerous convulsions of differing character, once again various governments resorted to numerous measures making the state apparatus more and more anti-people and autocratic.

It is in this background the present developments in our country should be analysed, especially after coming to power of Sangh Parivar through the BJP-led government at Centre. The fall of Vajpayee government do not basically change the situation. Such an analysis is very relevant today as there are sharp differences among all political formations in India, especially among the various streams of left in evaluating present developments.

As far as the traditional left parties led by CPI (M)-CPI are concerned they analyse the emergence of Sangh Parivar forces and the growing fascist threat it poses only as the rise of communal fascism. They refuse to link the growth of this fascist threat with intensifying neo-colonisation of the country. So they were projecting a single point formula of bringing down BJP-led government with the initiative of Congress (I) as the immediate important task. CPI

M) - CPI leaders were working hard to replace BJP-led government with Congress (I) led government. Meanwhile they have abandoned all efforts to analyse the reasons for the emergence of fascist threat and its characteristics in India like situation. They do not even bother to analyse why some of the regional parties with whom they had close relations for long abandoned the *United Front* of 1996-98 period and joined hands with BJP. Even when their long-term ally DMK also has left their *Third Alternative* when ADMK decided to oppose Vajpayee government, they do not go for analysis of its reasons. As a result, CPI(M)-CPI have lost even whatever initiative they had and have degenerated to totally trailing behind Congress (I).

As they refuse to see the relation between growth of fascism with intensifying imperialist plunder and its consequences, they fail to recognise that the anti-brahminical opposition towards BJP by backward and dalit leaderships, and anti-communal stand of regional parties get corroded under commercialisation and liberalisation. Because of this, these parties who constituted predominant part in the UF and in presently mooted *Third Alternative* do not find much difficulty in joining the BJP-led forces influenced by the wooing of Sangh Parivar forces. What happened to old brands of social democrats like George Fernandes also explains this.

In short, what CPI(M)-CPI are doing now, even forgetting their understanding with BJP in 1989 elections in the name of defeating Congress(I) which was their enemy no one then, is taking a simplistic stand to suit their opportunist politics by rejecting the relation between emergence of fascism with the economic factors, and by reducing fascism to mere Communal fascism, that is to fascist threat posed only by communal forces, especially the maximalist or predominant Hindutva forces. In this way, in the name of opposing communal fascism they are reduced to tails of Congress (I) and its trusted agents. It fully corresponds to their social democratic positions.

History does not repeat itself mechanically

On the other hand there are some streams of left forces who deny the possibility of emergence of fascism in countries like present India which they characterise as 'semi-colonial, semi-

feudal'. For them fascism can be of only one variety, that emerged in European countries in the 1920s and 1930s in conditions explained by Georgi Dimitrov in the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. This is a mechanical understanding which vulgarises the teaching of CI.

Dimitrov analysed "fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people; fascism is unbridled chauvinism and predatory war; fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people." In the then concrete conditions Executive Committee of the CI analysed fascism as the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital," and that "with the development of the very deep economic crisis, with the general crisis of capitalism becoming sharply accentuated and the mass of working people getting revolutionised, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive." The then ruling bourgeoisie sought salvation more and more in fascism. The Sixth Congress of the CI earlier (1928) had pointed out that "fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere." Along with the developed capitalist-imperialist countries in Western Europe and in Italy, they were found in Spain, Portugal and central Europe, as well as in many dependent countries of Latin America. This analysis of Dimitrov, and Sixth and Seventh Congresses of CI do not help these advocates of 'Semi-feudalism' to reject the possibility of emergence of fascist tendencies and growing fascist threats in the large number of countries under new form of imperialist domination like India along with the Imperialist countries in this period of acute general crisis of the imperialist system. Only the sections suffering from extreme ideological backwardness shall dare to (mis) quote Dimitrov to mechanically reject the growing threats of fascism in our country today. Such pacifist approach only benefits the fascist forces.

Growing fascist threats in capitalist-imperialist countries

With the beginning of the general crisis in the imperialist countries from early 1970s various fascist forces started emerging in the capitalist-imperialist countries and they have reached da-

dangerous levels at this turn of the century. Its prominent advocate in Britain, Enoch Powell emits his venomous racial hatred utilised by the fascists in these countries in following words: "Skin colour is a permanent and involuntary uniform which performs... the functions of a uniform in warfare, distinguishing one side from the other, friend and foe, making it possible to see at a glance where to render assistance and where to attack". Fascist thugs in Britain are attacking the working class and ethnic minorities with full support from the 1,25,000 police force. The rapacity of racism has intensified with Thatcher's demolition of welfare state policies which Tony Blair of (New) Labour Party is perpetuating through his *enterprise culture*. Though the market is propagated as a great equaliser by the imperialists it has only alarmingly widened the gap between the earnings of the top of the capitalist income pyramid and the vast masses. Cause of this destitution is explained as due to increasing number of other 'races'. Racial hatred is utilised as the ideological base for spreading fascist tendencies.

Europe's biggest Nazi Party, France's National Front (NF) has popularised a racist vocabulary with references to 'levels of tolerance', 'invasion of immigrants', 'noise and smell' of foreigners etc which are now internalised by the French ruling classes and its top-most leaders. The ideas and language of NF is being given respectability. This emboldened NF leader Le Pen to justify Hitlerite genocide as a 'detail' of history. Now he has called on his fascist thugs: "Crisis is a great midwife of history. When situations are blocked, it is generally the drive of human nature which forces a breakthrough into new times... Now it is certain that only the NF can tear this country from decadence... There is a time when all that will end and that will be the revolution. The extreme left is preparing for it..... So I believe that you too should prepare yourselves, because at a certain point the worm-eaten structures of our system are going to collapse".

Under *skinheads* in Germany and various fascist groups in US and elsewhere racism is gathering speed. In all these countries the market forces have massively marginalised ethnic minorities and racism is serving as ideological base for spread of fascist movements. As the general crisis of imperialist system is intensifying these tendencies are encouraged by the ruling classes. In US to be a black driver is to

invite police scrutiny, as thousands are daily singled out for groundless pull-overs, 'pretext' stops, and subjected to intrusive, warrantless searches and abusive treatment by police. Worse is the condition in ghettos. Everywhere the working class as a whole are deprived of democratic and TU rights. State is becoming more fascist with many civil rights being taken away. The fascists are preparing for taking over the state as bourgeois democratic institutions cannot cope up with increasing people's resentment. Fascist tendencies are spreading as the spearhead of international counter-revolution and as the chief instigator of imperialist war. The imposition of liberalisation-globalisation policies and aggression against Iraq and now Yugoslavia exemplify these developments.

In the neocolonies

The Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) imposed everywhere under neo-liberal or monetarist New Economic Policies (NEPs) through the dictates of the imperialist agencies and the liberalisation - globalisation scheme have transferred a major part of the burden of the current general crisis of imperialism to the neocolonies. As a result all these countries are caught in the vortex of intensifying crisis. The tyranny of imperialist globalisation and market economy with the imperialist directed exchanges have brought about significant changes in the world situation. Not only the crisis in the economic field is globalised as a result. The crisis in the ruling system in the imperialist countries along with its increasing fascistisation is also globalised. Besides racism, religious fundamentalism is also utilised as the ideological basis for spreading the fascistisation. India is a very good example in this case.

As pointed out in the beginning itself the honeymoon of the populist rule with socialist pretensions was over with the end of Nehruvian rule and India's ruling class started exhibiting increasing authoritarian urges from the beginning of Indira regime in order to perpetuate the rule of the comprador classes and to suppress various people's movements.

From the early 1970s the manifestation of the beginning of the crisis in the imperialist system was felt in India also. To be more precise the Indira regime started in mid-1960s with a heavy dose of devaluation of rupee and allowing

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PROBLEM OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

R. Mukherji

[A study of the growing contradiction between capital and labour under Imperialist system-RS]

A rational approach to the human development rests on the requisite material economic base and congenial social atmosphere for employment and sustenance of human labour and radical improvement of its faculty in the society. Development becomes really harmonious and sustainable when employment works as the country's prime objective of economic development and people's welfare. It is central to the economic development and human progress. Economic independence of man in his own social organisation is key to the human development and freedom.

Human development has a much wider social dimension, and employment—the work for livelihood of the labour—can be taken as the generic term and concept for human development. An analysis may be made on this monist view. The employment and growth of labour force, its distribution and productivity in the world economy necessarily, form the general basis for enquiry into the human development problem in the context of the present day socio-economic reality of the world.

Labour Force

The global labour force has grown massively in recent decades. In 1995 there were an estimated 2.5 billion men and women of working-age (15-64) in the world's labour force, almost twice as many as in 1965. Estimates project a further worldwide increase of 1.2 billion by 2025. This growth and expansion has been geographically skewed. Since 1965 growth in the labour supply has varied substantially across regions from 40% to the world's high income economies to 93% in South Asia and 176% in the Middle East and North Africa. And 99% of the projected growth in the labour force from 1995 to 2025 will occur in the low and middle income economies (Table-1). Of the total working-age population of 547 million in the high income economies, 30% (164 million) was not in labour force; out of the total of 1030 million in the middle

income economies, 36% (372 million) was outside the labour force; and of the total of 1963 million in the low income economies, 27% (527 million) was not in the labour force. Out of the 3.5 billion in the world's total working-age population in 1995, as many as 1 billion (30.5%) remained outside the labour force of the world. They were not at all engaged in petty or large scale commodity production. The growth and distribution of the labour force actually employed in the world economy in the period 1965-1995 can be followed from the data in Tables 1 and 3.

Of the working-age population in the high income economies, 3% was absorbed in agriculture, 19% in industry, 42% in services and 6% was unemployed of the total working-age population. In the middle income countries, agriculture employed 18%, industry 16%, services 26% and 4% remained unemployed. In the low income economies, agriculture absorbed 44%, industry 11%, services 16%, while 2% remained unemployed. Well over half of the world's working-age population, some 2 billion people, live in low income economies where annual income per capita was below dollar 695 in 1993. Another 40 million elderly workers and a reported 50 to 60 million children are at work. Because of widespread underreporting, child labour may actually involve tens of millions more. About one-third of the working-age population in the low income economies are not employed, some because they are attending school, raising children, or caring for their families, and others because they are unable to work or unable to find employment.

The regional differences in the growth of labour productivity widened during the 1980s and early 1990s. In the East Asia and the Pacific region, labour productivity grew at 4.1% per year in 1965-80, 5.2% in 1980-90 and 8.4% in 1990-93. In Europe and Central Asia it grew 3% and 1.4% per annum in 1965-80 and 1980-90, but witnessed a negative growth rate of 7.6% in 1990-93. In the Latin America and Caribbean region it annually grew by 3.4% in 1965-80, declined by 1.5% in 1980-90 and rose only marginally by 0.5% in 1990-93. In the Middle East and North Africa labour productivity increased by 3.5% per annum in 1965-80 but witnessed a fall

of nearly 2% per year in 1980-90 and 4.8% per year in 1990-93. In the high income OECD countries labour productivity increased 2.4% per year in 1965-80, 1.9% per year in 1980-90 and only 0.4% in 1990-93. The average increase in labour productivity in South Asia was 1.8% 3.4% and 1% in those periods respectively. In the Sub-Saharan Africa, average increase in labour productivity was 1.6% in 1965-80 but it fell by 0.8% in 1980-90 and 1.8% in 1990-93. The four regions at times, witnessed negative growth rate in labour productivity. While the growth rate in labour productivity in East Asia and the Pacific has been quite appreciable, the rate has been falling secularly in six other regions in the whole period.

In the high income OECD countries labour force participation rate for both male and female in 1995 showed to be very high. But in the middle and low income countries though participation rate in the labour force for male (80-90%) was comparable to that of the high income OECD countries, the participation rate for the female in many low income countries was very low (10-35%) owing to social custom and economic backwardness in the society. As regards distribution of work force in different sectors of the economy and between wage and non-wage spheres, it was observed that share for wage was very predominant in the high income OECD countries while it was very low in the middle and low income countries. The much greater share of non-wage than that of wage in the work force, low share of female in the labour force participation and incidence of child labour associated and attached with the scattered and small individual form of production with their numerous units—the chief characteristics—that confirm the existence and predominance of the pre-capitalist, feudal and semi-feudal relations of production in the middle and low income countries of the world (Table 2). This shows a peculiar middle stage in the process of transition of their economies, as it is evident from the data that over 80% of the workers in low income countries, and more than 40% of them in the middle income countries were non-wage workers engaged in their own pursuits in the informal sector.

Development and Employment

The resource balance for the low income economies measured as the difference between the ratios of their investment and saving in their

gross domestic product increased from a deficit of 1% in 1970 to a deficit of 3% in 1993. Excluding China and India, their deficit rose from 3% to 8% in the same period. For the middle income countries, the deficit was estimated at 1% in 1993 from a very low fraction of 1970 and for the upper middle income economies, it showed an increased deficit from 1% in 1970 to 2% in 1993. Low and middle income economies are capital importing countries at large. For the high income countries it is a quite different story. Their resource balance continued to be surplus at 1% of their gross domestic product in 1970 and 1993, indicating strong dominant position as capital exporting regions and countries in the world economy. The present world economy is characteristically divided between a small number of low population, capital surplus countries and a very large number of perennially capital deficit countries. Obviously, the former strive for continually exporting capital and surplus products and reap enormous surplus value from abroad. One school preaches that capital export is central to the economic progress and human development through the growth and more efficient operation of market mechanism in the world economy. On the face of it, the other school showing the hard realities of the long economic history of the world under colonialism and imperialism questions the very anarchic character of the world economy, its interrelation and appropriation under the monopoly capital and strongly criticises for its failure to bring in harmonious development and contentment to the vast masses of the people of low, middle and high income countries. According to this school of thought, the very anarchic character of and appropriation under capitalism is coercive and predatory. It prescribes a radical alteration of the existing social order.

No doubt, therefore, at the end of the twentieth century, human development actually is at the critical cross-road. The mode of appropriation of the gross national product in the world economy is the primary and central issue that comes to the forefront in the process of human development and civilisation.

One of the benefits of the sustained economic growth of the high income industrial countries has been an almost 40% decline in hours worked per person per year, from average of 2690 in 1900 to 1630 in 1986. This has become possible with the rapid technological development mechanisation and much higher amount of capital

Investment per worker employed. In general it is the result of expansion and deepening of the capitalist mode of production contributing to concentration and centralisation of capital. On an increasing scale it has increased wage employment overall, but not been able to solve unemployment problem in the developed capitalist countries and the world economy. As much as 30% of the working age population in the high income economies remains outside the labour force, while 6% was unemployed; and taking those two items, it formed 36% in 1995. "The situation in the high income economy is strikingly different. There, too, about one-third of the working age people is outside labour force or unemployed." These two components formed 40% and about 33% respectively in the middle income and low income economies.

World wide, unemployment-conventionally defined as those seeking work but unable to find any-is estimated at 3% of the working-age (15-64 years) population and that forms about 5% of labour force. Though the estimate is imprecise, unemployment remains often "higher in high income economies," but with rising incomes, increasing urbanisation, opening of the market and economic transitions, it has become the more prevalent phenomenon in a broad range of low and middle income economies as well.

Half of the world's workers are self-employed and work in family enterprises. The 40% of the world's working-age population who work on family farms and in the informal sector typically earn far less than even unskilled urban workers and if the returns to their labour were added to the picture, the spread in earnings, domestically as well as internationally, would be even greater. During 1965-93, growth rates of the working age population were remarkably similar (2.5-3% per annum, across regions, with the lone exception of Europe and Central Asia region, which had achieved low fertility rates by the 1960s. But differences in their GDP growth rates in the same period were huge. In East Asia output growth exceeded expansion of the working population by an average of about 5 percentage points a year; in Latin America, the difference was less than 1.5 percentage points a year; and in Sub-Saharan Africa growth in working-age population very slightly exceeded GDP growth per year. In almost all regions where economic growth rates have been high average output per worker has grown rapidly, doubling in every fifteen years in East Asia compared with fifty years in Latin

America and actually declining in Sub-Saharan Africa. Growth rate in GDP was generally higher than the growth rate in working-age population, yet that failed to take care of the unemployment problem in these societies. A high rate of investment and high GDP growth has not warranted commensurate high growth rate in employment, but on the contrary, it actually led to a fall in the number of wage employment and increase in unemployment. This great anomaly exposes the antagonistic contradiction between the capital and labour—nowadays constantly manifesting in the regime of monopoly capitalism more than ever. This has also caused regional differences in income, inequalities and class distinctions in the societies over the years. By one estimate, in 1870 the average income per capita of the richest countries was eleven times that of the poorest; the ratio was thirty-eight in 1960 and it rose to fifty-two in 1985. It exposes the hollowness and absurdity of the reformists' pious will of raising the people from below poverty level in the capitalist system. Historical developments evince that pauperism and huckstering in the capitalist economy grow more rapidly than population and wealth. Poor people's number will rise in future.

Underutilisation of labour

Modern capitalist development has an important impact on the way and manifestation of unemployment and this can be followed from the official statistics of different countries. Many of the workers in the low income countries are not fully employed. Some work only part of the time putting in long hours in peak agricultural seasons but remain otherwise mostly idle. In almost all countries there is underutilisation of human resource—people who want to work cannot find as much work as they would like. In poorer, rural areas this mainly takes the form of seasonal underemployment. In urban areas one manifestation is that of the discouraged worker, who has given up searching for work. Open unemployment is somewhat low, and "underutilisation of labour is pervasive". In Ghana rural labourers work on average only twenty-eight hours a week, whereas in Vietnam nearly 10% of the labour force works less than fifteen hours per week, even though many of them would choose to work more. In Bangladesh the Bureau of Statistics estimated that nearly 43% of the country's labour force was underutilised in 1989. In South Africa total unemployment of blacks is close to 40% almost th-

ree quarters of whom have given up even looking for a job.

Recent trends in unemployment are especially troubling despite a "steady recovery" in the world economy, and open unemployment has grown in many countries. In Europe the persistence of high unemployment rates through the 1980s and 1990s has been caused by a "weak growth" in labour demand, real wage rigidities in the face of "declining demand" for unskilled workers and some other "restrictions" holding back employment growth in the market economy.

Unemployment has become particularly severe in many of the former centrally planned economies, where many enterprises exposed for the first time to the "discipline" of markets, have been forced to cut back production or to shut down altogether. In Bulgaria, Hungary and the Slovak Republic, officially recorded unemployment was negligible as recently as 1989. But by 1993 all three confronted open unemployment rates of between 12 and 16%. In Belarus, Czech Republic and Russia open unemployment remains in single digit, although many workers in Belarus and Russia have been effectively laid off or working part-time after reforms towards market economy.

During the 1980s growth in modern sector employment stagnated in many poor countries in response to reductions in aggregate demand and public enterprise re-structuring. In urban centres open unemployment grew as new entrants to the labour force and displaced workers failed to find work. Once viewed as luxury, available only for a better off young people waiting for a modern sector job, unemployment now affects almost all social classes at large.

Rising real wages encourage producers within a given sector to adopt labour-saving production techniques as workers move from low to high productivity activities. As economies expand under the condition, new employment opportunities compete with existing ones. Though economic growth leads to the increase in GDP, distribution of the products continues to be as anarchic as ever in the capitalist economy. Only a small section of the households in this condition actually gain and inequality and disparity between individuals and groups often persists and widens between men and women, between ethnic groups and indeed between households. And growth fails to reach

some groups at all. The disabled, the economically disadvantaged, those living in poor and lagging regions are among those most at the risk of getting left behind. Lacking equal access to assets—and especially to education and skill training and often faced with other obstacles such as ethnic, communal or sex discrimination, these groups become unable to take advantage of any new opportunity in the economic and technological changes.

Condition of Labour

Workers invariably suffer most during the wrenching transition to market regime. The poor find it especially difficult to cope with the falls in wages and employment that largely occur during the transition. Women are disproportionately affected. The pain can be deeply felt and prolonged when the transition is invariably accompanied by recession and any renewal of growth takes much longer period.

The transition has been associated with rising inequality in the former centrally planned economies. "Inequality under socialism was very low" and "market economies require some inequality to function efficiently. Wages must differ if investments in skills and experience are to be rewarded." An increase in inequality was the unavoidable route and consequence of the move from central planning toward a market mechanism. In the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Eastern Germany increased inequality has largely resulted from rising relative returns to the highly educated, according to the market condition.

Most households depend largely on their wage incomes from work. Thus, household living standards during periods of major change are closely and invariably tied to what happens in the labour market. The demand for labour has fallen in almost all episodes of transition and adjustment as a result of some combination of macroeconomic decline and changes in labour deployment. The reduction in employment is most pronounced in sectors that are no longer economically viable. No adjusting economy can escape decline in real wages and increase in unemployment and the size, duration and intensity of both effects differ from country to country.

In most countries of central and eastern Europe unemployment reached levels well above 10% (it has risen above 15% in Bulgaria and

Poland). At first inspection these levels do not appear much higher than those in many western European economies, none of which have suffered equivalent transitional shocks in recent years. But unemployment in Central and Eastern Europe would be much higher still but for the fact that large numbers of workers have dropped out of the formal labour force. Even in those countries that cut subsidies to public enterprises, forcing them to shed workers, there was little movement either into or out of unemployment. But while "unemployment became an increasingly stagnant pool", there was significant growth in "self-employment" and informal sector employment. But these petty and menial jobs are obviously much inferior compared with their earlier wage employment as their new assignments become more hazardous and tiring, uncertain and much less remunerative in the coercive market system. Numerous persons fail to have self-employment of even inferior nature owing to financial difficulties, recession and continuous anarchy in the home markets,

The analysis clearly demonstrates the long term trend of labour employment and exposes the precarious and subdued condition of labour in the world economy greatly dominated by monopoly and finance capital. Monopoly capital assiduously ensures its own interests and protects the condition for its maximum profit through mechanisation, automation, modernisation of the productive forces and globalisation in world market economy. With this process ongoing, it continuously sheds more and more labourers from the organised sector, and being at large, it throws them out of employment. On the other side, supply of labour to the economy constantly increases at a steady rate owing to the higher rate of working population growth. Shedding of labour from the organised sector and supply of labour on an increasing rate in the market—the two factors—work in unison and largely account for and raise the relative surplus population and contribute to its high growth rate in the world economy over the years.

Laws of Capitalism

Capital now directly and more violently confronts the labour. It is always set to reap surplus value of an ever increasing quality and crush the labour. Profit is the direct aim and sole motive force of capitalist production, more esp-

pecially in the present era of monopoly capitalism. The capitalist order constantly creates surplus product, surplus labour and relative surplus population in the economies of the world. Capital only protects its own interest and design, and labour employment for general welfare, and hence human development in the society is not readily and can never be on the agenda in the domain of capital. The distribution of product continues to be more and more arbitrary and anarchic to the existence, sustenance and well-being of the labour in general, although economic development takes place in the society.

It has sharply divided the workers and led to the great spatial difference in employment. In the high income countries six out of ten workers are employed in the service sector, and in the middle and low income countries six out of ten workers were engaged in agriculture and allied rural works in 1995. Capital has dehumanised labour, termed it into a commodity, and constantly thwarts and hounds it for generation of more surplus value, i.e., profit. Actual developments ever since confirm the basic scientific propositions of Marx-Engels viz., contradiction and antagonism between capital and labour, the relative surplus population in the society and existence of a vast reserve of industrial army in the form of unemployment and underemployment. Economic developments at the same time totally disprove the contention of some earlier writers like Bernstein and Dilias who, criticising Marx-Engels, advanced their idealistic thought of evolutionary and democratic socialism under the condition of the relatively peaceful development of capitalist society, state-guided mixed economy and unity of the world market.

It stands out from the analysis that the basic postulates and propositions on the capitalist mode of production propounded by Marx-Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, are fulfilled and those are current and valid in the present day world economy dominated by the monopoly and finance capital. The philosophy of scientific socialism—the only means of harmonious and all round human development—theat explains capitalism's limited and narrow social base and objective and shines in the realm of the man's thought and wisdom. No other idea, theory or thought on human development and progress has ever excelled over socialism enriched with human content and appeal to the society.

Table 1. The world's labour force by country income group and region

Income group or region	Millions of workers			Percentage of total		
	1965	1995	2025	1965	1995	2025
World	1,329	2,476	3,656	100	100	100
Income Group						
High-Income	272	382	395	21	15	11
Middle-Income	363	658	1,020	27	27	26
Low-Income	694	1,486	2,241	52	58	61
Region						
Sub-Saharan Africa	102	214	537	8	9	15
East Asia and the Pacific	448	964	1,201	34	39	33
South Asia	228	440	779	17	18	21
Europe and Central Asia	180	239	281	14	10	8
Middle East and North Africa	29	80	204	2	3	6
Latin America and the Caribbean	73	166	270	5	6	7
High-Income OECD	269	373	384	20	15	10

a. Ages fifteen to sixty-four.

Source: ILO 1986 with ILO data updates.

Note: Economic growth and integration have not solved the problem of world poverty and deprivation. Indeed, the numbers of the poor could rise still further as world labour force grows. (*World Development Report 1995*, p. 1)

Table 2. Wage employment as a share of total employment by sector and country income group (percentage of total)

Sector	Low Income	Middle-Income	High-Income
Agriculture	3.6	25.6	38.2
Industry	29.8	76.7	89.1
Services	46.4	68.2	85.6
All Sectors	17.1	57.4	84.4

Note: Data are projected from a sample of countries in each income group.

Source: ILO 1986 with ILO data updates.

Table 3. World Economy, Employment of Labour, 1995.

Economy	Per capita NNP in \$ (US) in 1993	Labour Force in 1995 (million)	Percentage Distribution of the labour force (million)			Unemployed
			Agriculture	Industry	Service	
High Income Economies	8626 and above	380	4	27	60	30
Middle Income Economies	696-8625	660	29	46	18a	40
Low Income Economies	695 or less	1460	61	15	22a	50
World:	Total (million) (percent)	2500 (100)	1080 (43)	500 (20)	800 (32)	120 (5)

Notes:

1. USA, Canada, Western Europe, Japan and Australia.
2. Central America, South America, North Africa, South-West Africa, East Europe, Middle East, Russia and Central Asian Countries, Korea, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines.
3. Western, Central and East Africa, Madagascar, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and China, etc.

a. Includes rural non-farm and urban informal activities.
Source: World Development Report 1995, Washington, p. 2.

Domino Theory in Action: After Iraq, Yugoslavia come under US aggression

The pattern of US-led aggression against Iraq is being repeated in Yugoslavia. The only difference these have with the aggression against Vietnam, Kampuchea, Laos in the 1960s and 1970s is that the old jargon of saving the world from spectre of Communism is not repeated now. Everywhere US Imperialist chieftains were/are imposing their criminal *domino theory*, that the whole world should bow down to their total and unquestionable hegemony.

The US-UK aggression against Iraq supposed to be a sovereign nation and UN member, is still continuing. In the name of protecting the Shiahs in south and Kurds in the north, US Imperialists have divided the country into three parts. They are continuing their bombing raids against all three regions in the name of protecting the south and north. That the US is assisting Turkey for massacring Kurds or Shiaite Iranian regime is a rogue one for US leaders are no obstacles in utilising Shiaite and Kurdish questions to attack Iraq. The UN and Security Council are silent spectators to this international crime. Nothing is heard of the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) like species. The ruling classes in the oppressed countries including India do not dare to raise their voice against this months long aggression. Even the media including the ones in these neocolonies keep total silence about this continuing US-led aggression. Clinton gang has succeeded in imposing their long-cherished *domino theory* effectively. Now it is being repeated in Yugoslavia more brutally by the US-led NATO forces

Imperialists in the Balkans

The imperialists never allowed peace in the Balkans. Balkan satraps were provoked to fight each other and kept 'Balkanised' till the Hitlerite fascist days. Then Hitlerites and Italian fascists attacked and occupied the region. But under the leadership of Communists and allied democratic forces they fought back. The Balkan people became part of the anti-fascist war led by the Soviet Union. With the Hitlerites beaten back, under the leadership of the Communist Party Yugoslavia came into existence as a federal republic of the Balkan peoples. Under the people's democratic state power Yugoslavia started making significant progress in all fields.

The US-led Imperialist camp did not allow peace there. They nefariously manoevered and won over Titoist leadership which led to gradual degeneration of the people's democratic state power. After Tito, Imperialists stepped up their criminal acts of destabilisation and disintegration to break down Yugoslavia as they did or are doing with all former socialist countries including Soviet Union. Under direct provocation and intervention by various Imperialist powers soon Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia were separated. Then came the turn of Bosnia-Herzegovina under direct NATO intervention. Now the ethnic Albanian dominated Kosovo is utilised to disintegrate what is left of the old Yugoslavia.

There is not a single country in the world including US and UK today which are free of ethnic, racist, nationalist, religious fundamentalist-like problems. US led Imperialist camp is utilising these issues to divide people and to disintegrate the countries. The ethnic Albanian question in Kosovo is also utilised in the same way. At the same time history shows that neither in their own countries nor in other countries the imperialists have never resolved or have helped to resolve these questions in a progressive and democratic manner. They are, on the contrary, utilised to interfere in other countries and to impose Imperialist hegemony everywhere.

In Kosovo US-led imperialists instigated and helped formation of Kosovan Liberation Front in the name of assisting the ethnic Albanians there while they are ruthless in the plunder of Albanian people in neighbouring Albania by imposing pro-imperialist regime there. The retaliation of Yugoslav government against terrorist acts of KLF in the same coin is now utilised by US led NATO forces as the excuse to bombard Yugoslavia including its capital Belgrade. If Yugoslav do not surrender and sign away its authority over Kosovo the bombardment shall continue, according to Clinton gang. To put pressure on Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, US and all European powers have deployed their most murderous bombers and missile system to intensify and escalate the bombardment day by day. Even an invasion by the land army of the NATO forces on Kosovo is

also being threatened. It is a naked aggression, most brutal and fiendish.

Earlier, in Iraq and other arrogant imperialist aggressive acts atleast the name of UN was utilised in words as a flimsy pretext. Now the emperor is totally naked. Even the name of UN has become unnecessary. US-led NATO forces shall decide the destiny of the world. So many days after starting the bombardment of Yugoslavia, a UN member, by the Imperialist gangsters neither Security Council nor UN is even convened to discuss the matter, even after repeated appeals from Yugoslavia.

A Liberal's War

The war being waged against Yugoslavia can be called a liberal's war. Whether in US or in the European countries the present rulers are either liberal bourgeois parties or social democrats. We are witnessing Democratic president Clinton of US, Labour prime minister Blair of UK, Socialist premier Jospin of France, the social democrats and Green Party of Germany, social democrats of Italy and similar liberals or social democrats in other European countries have joined hands to launch this aggression. Even while utilising a propaganda blitzkrieg to prove that it is a war against Milosevic's genocide, ethnic cleansing and barbarism, these liberals and social democrats are fully exposed as war-mongers. Even the Green Party hailed by many pseudo-progressives as a new brand of revolutionism has joined this gang. So also some of the so-called 'reformed' communists of Eastern Europe. All of them are competing to prove themselves as NATO hawks. Not a whisper of protest is coming out from any of them against this NATO action.

The other imperialist countries including Japan are also supporting this US-led NATO action. If these imperialist gangsters led by US were unleashing brutal wars till 1980s in the name of defeating communist demon, today they are finding out new excuses and explanations for launching criminal aggressions. All liberals, Greens, social democrats and 'reformed' communists around the world joining hands to wage these wars and to justify them.

At the same time this aggression has rang the death-knell to what is left of the UN also. It is now established that Security Council shall meet only if it is ready to serve the imperialist camp, and especially its leader US imperialism.

Alongwith this Russia and China have forfeited all credibility as Security Council members.

Imperialism means war

The US-led NATO aggression against Yugoslavia has once again proved the correctness of Marxist-Leninist teaching that imperialism means plunder of world people, and wars. As the general crisis faced by imperialist system is intensifying, its war efforts for maintaining and imposing hegemony everywhere are also intensifying. The attack on Yugoslavia cannot be seen in isolation. It is part of the heinous efforts by US-led imperialist camp to perpetuate its dominance.

This wanton imperialist arrogance is increasingly challenged today. If US-led NATO forces land in Kosovo and the attack on Yugoslavia is continued, inspite of all-round degeneration the Russian leadership will be compelled to support Yugoslavia militarily. So this conflict is not going to be a walk-over for US-led forces. Already many Western commentators have started speculating whether this Serbian adventure also will lead to a Vietnam like set-back to the imperialists. Yugoslav leadership has declared its intention to fight till end for the defence of the security of Yugoslavia. However hard Serbian barbarity in Kosovo and the demonishness of Milosevic are propagated the NATO forces shall not be able to maintain their own unity also. As the war gets prolonged at the battle field itself US-led NATO forces are going to get increasing set-backs.

Meanwhile progressive democratic public opinion is turning against this aggression. Reports of massive protest demonstrations are received from all parts of world. In Europe itself people are on the streets protesting against this aggression. These protest movements shall accelerate the efforts already initiated by the Joint Coordination Group of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations (JCG MLPO) to launch an anti-imperialist front at international level.

Here in our country it is the urgent task of the Communist Revolutionary forces to mobilise the working class and all other progressive democratic forces for building up continuously strengthening and expanding anti-imperialist movement. The US-led imperialist camp should not be given opportunity to plunder this country and go unpunished. The imperialists should be resisted everywhere. The working class and left masses should come out on the streets to beat back the US-led imperialist aggression. ●

Once Again About Anti-Stalinism

—Prof. Vladimir Herasymchuk

be shown to the world as the correct path to the future.

Everyone knows, that in the struggles against opportunism and revisionism J. V. Stalin defended the purity of Marxism - Leninism. Not looking at the terrible external situation in which the Soviet Union had to build and exist, Stalin led the country to the first place in the world. Again, let us ask - was this not the truth? Therefore to throw away the role of the leader in our history - in the scientific knowledge of the development of our country and of Marxism-Leninism in daily life is to throw away the ideas of socialism and communism. In the present time we know that anti-Stalinism turns into anti-communism. These enemies who mask their speeches with revolutionary slogans and pseudo-socialist slogans - in reality this is nothing but opportunism. Therefore the present leaders who say that they are leading the working class, but throw away the legacy and historical significance of Stalin, they cannot be political allies in the present struggle. The question here is not about the personage of J. V. Stalin as a concrete personality... the essence is about his teachings, his ideals, his struggles, in his politics as a leader of the communist movement.

Our main task - to defend Marxism-Leninism from anti-Stalinism, to cleanse it from the husks of opportunism, the ones who are against the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the ownership of production. Only by methodically dissecting the tenets of anti-Stalinism, pointing out that it is nothing but bourgeoisie-liberal, anti-people cover-up, can we concretely proceed to fight and struggle for the power of the working class. This is exactly what the present ruling Mafia is afraid of - the rebirth of the truth about J. V. Stalin. But the fact is this, that the work and the leadership of Stalin never died. He is living today and will in the hearts and minds of Soviet people.

The class struggles in this contemporary world of ours has become more bitter. Therefore do not be surprised by the fact that the anti-Stalinism is being pushed at a feverish pitch - this is meant to defuse, disarm and disunite the

The latest events in the Ukraine, as in all of the other Republics of our Motherland, shows us clearly that the revolutionary struggles are growing step by step and getting hotter and more resolute. But unfortunately the struggles have not yet reached the position of being effective. This is explained in part by the fact that amongst the workers and farmers there is still no effective leader... At the same time the people who are heading the various parties and movements, sometimes haven't the skills or purposely are leading their members in the wrong direction. But how can you recognize a genuine leader from a pseudo-demagogue, hiding himself under popular phrases their own hidden interior? It is the truth, that the criteria of political correctness in the first place is his or her attitude to the ownership of production and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We should not be afraid to use this terminology! The meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat is in essence, the state of the workers, who live from the products of the production. In this regard it is necessary to understand, that "children of the cock", managed the Soviet State much better than the present mayors and presidents. Is this not the truth? It is sad only that "fat cats", taking advantage of the common people, left the working class and now they themselves are sitting on the throne and ruining the country.

The power before was in the hands of workers and farmers. They governed as they thought best, under the most difficult of conditions. And overall they governed very well. The Communists were the ones that governed, planned and got results with J. V. Stalin as the leader of the Motherland. That is why the enemies of the working class of the world have concentrated their attacks against this person. They conjured from this brilliant leader a picture of complete opposite, which absolutely does not live up to reality. Unfortunately they managed to present this picture to the people. Therefore, in order to give rebirth and to resurrect our Motherland, the Soviet Union, socialism is impossible without opening these lies to scrutiny and facts for everyone to see. The rapid rise of the Soviet Union, its people, its industry and agriculture, the personality of Stalin... must

Invasion of Europe Investors or "Robber Barons"?

(Part of a speech by Professor Marek Glogoczowski of Poland at the European Future Congress held in Budapest, Hungary on June 26-28, 1998.)

Few months ago the public of some countries was nearly "accidentally" informed about an apparently secret international "Mutual Agreement on Investment" (MAI). This latest commercial "Bill of Rights" will-in the near future-practically abolish the principle of sovereign states: all members who join will be at the mercy of the omnipotent Multinational Corporations, having the right of a free transfer of not only merchandises, but also benefits and personnel from country to country.

The "disclosure" of apparently secret MAI paragraphs has stirred some anxiety even amongst Western countries. It seems - media of newly won "capitalism" in Eastern Europe are still conspicuously silent about this ultimate proposal of national self-annihilation.

The idea of such investments, permitting the richer to suck at discretion the poorer and

weaker, is not new. It is sufficient to recall commercial treaties of the last century, when England signed with at that time decaying Chinese Empire. Those famous "opium agreements" permitted British merchants to push opium freely into Chinese bourgeoisie in exchange for Chinese reserves of silver. In this memorable case, "investors" were ordinary gangsters working with the full comprehension of the British Royal Court.

In the last 10 years we have witnessed a similar "Peaceful Gangsters" invasion of Eastern Europe. Thanks to these programs of such big economical "restructuring" - realized in Poland by the famous team of Sachs and of this George Soros working on behalf of the International Monetary Fund - from any dollar "invested" in falling Polish banking system, a well informed investor was able to recover, in a period of only two years three dollars. In this two-years long period of "reforms", thanks to freshly liberated - previously considered criminal-aggressive usury, several billions of dollars were siphoned out of the country, creating the loss of nearly 4 billions of jobs and a nearly total

working class in their struggles. Unfortunately, the leaders of the opportunist parties have managed to split the working class in our country. Playing footsie with Imperialism, they travel further and further to the right. As an example, when the Chairman of the Socialist Party of Ukraine Moroz was asked, as to how he can explain the fact of his party departing from Marxism-Leninism, he said, that "he cannot at this time give a concrete answer" to that question(!). This just another example of the opportunist road over which the Socialist Party of Ukraine is travelling, and it is on their anti-Stalinism, telling the audience to give it to the "archives of Lenin" to be studied. No, my dear "children - democrats"! A study of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin never dies. Is this not so?

Yes, the left parties and movements are rising up and moving against the reactionary governments but not in a united front of struggle. That is why a political union-unity at this time is not possible as yet. But, our paths sometimes might come together in some concr-

ete problems that arise against the governing Mafia. Of course, the coordination of such a common struggle is possible, and it must be said necessary. But this does not mean that we are abandoning our principals. We must be always cognizant of the orientation in the class struggle. The tactics must be followed as was practiced by Lenin and Stalin. This orientation tactics must be understood by the working class. To present these tactics in popular form-this must be our task. This task is to make certain that the means of production belong to the working class. Only the working class and its ownership of the means of production can guarantee the benefits to all of the people.

One more thing - can anyone have any grounds to disagree that only this path will lead to socialism - meaning the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin and Stalin fought all their lives that the working class shall be victorious over capitalism. The contemporary Bolsheviks are leading towards this goal.

collapse of Polish industry and agriculture. It is worth to add that in this affair, foreign and domestic "investors" were able to buy at ease the complicity of all important mass-media, of the Catholic Church, and of still influential officials of former "communist" party.

The European country which refused in April 1990, the same proposed program of "restructuring" was Yugoslavia. At that time, its president Milosevic fired World Bank advisors and Soros assistance. This disobedience of former Yugoslavia to programs of pillage and destruction prepared by the "dons" of world banking system, was at the very origin of war in this country. As it has ultimately disclosed (in few newspapers) the professional "reformer" Jeffrey Sachs, fired by Milosevic, immediately traveled to Slovenia to urge local government to split from Belgrade, assuring Slovenian authorities that some Western powers would back up the idea of a partition of Yugoslavia.

The "creeping war" of Atlantic Europe with Southern Slavs still goes on, but only a few people know what is played behind the Big Business-controlled screens of mass media. And here I would like to make an account of some of the methods used by USA in its fight for Freedom, Peace and Democracy in Europe.

First, at the moment of the formation of the multinational UN Peace Forces in Croatia and Bosnia, the CIA introduced about one thousand agents whose goal was to subvert and stir further subversion against the Serbian Republic. When other methods failed, these secret agents, camouflaged Blue Berets, perpetrated three major massacres in Sarajevo, about which "oncoming" events some chosen journalists residing in Sarajevo were informed in advance. As everybody knows, those massacres made possible by NATO bombardment of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia and the present incorporation of this part of ex-Yugoslavia into the NATO-controlled territory of Europe.

Second, all US political, economical or cultural institutions in Yugoslavia, very promptly, became centers of local Mafiosi Microsoft addicts, and other "ethnic minorities", those especially in Kosovo's capital Pristina

In the light of these facts, we can better understand the reasons of other interesting events that take place in Europe today:

*In Byelorussia, Western embassies were recently "invited" to move out. In this simple way the government of this, relatively sovereign country, has cut off the moral and financial support for the "fight for independence" of local enthusiasts of so-called "Atlantic Europe"

*In Kosovo, the fight for independence is evidently orchestrated by US "freedom services" which work all over the world in the same way, i.e. only year ago, by a sudden move into Iraq's Kurdistan, the Iraq army was able to kick out hundreds of US agents who were preparing there a "fight for freedom", similar to that of Kosovo.

*Third and most serious, the massacre in Sarajevo, for which the Serbs were accused and which opened the way to NATO occupation of Bosnia, recalls the outbreak of the Second World War, already sixty years ago. By an insidious and deadly attack at the broadcasting station in Gliwicz, organized by German secret services and attributed to Polish Army, Hitler got the pretext for his Blitzkrieg in Poland. It is exactly to avoid such an unwelcome associations that the European propaganda has, in its turn, rushed to represent Milosevic as an incarnation of Hitler. Such demagogic association was done, for example, by George Soros in his book *Underwriting Democracy*. This also resembles methods of Goebels propaganda and it is not the only example. According to the well-known American linguist and publicist Noam Chomsky, masters of American mass media empire use without hesitation the known trick of petty thief who cries the first "thief!" pointing at the victim of his pickpocket aggression.

The "free America" habit of putting all responsibility for a crime on the victims of criminal aggression is at the origin of major cognitive perversions and psychopaths of our liberal - i.e. free - to - lie society.

Like in Orwellian *Year 1984* utopia, all slogans in Western propaganda cover the opposite meaning. I will give only a few examples. When we hear about the Peace Forces of NATO, we have in mind a bunch of professional terrorists who in recent years organized spectacular wars and not only in Yugoslavia; when we hear about Human Rights, we must expect the enforcement of mass unemployment, decaying standards of education, rising banditry and the growing economic necessity of prostitution. Moreover, all

(contd. P. 19)

Marxism And The Nuclear Question

[Note: In November 1998 issue of Red Star we have published an article explaining our approach towards signing the CTBT. This article explains Marxist approach towards the nuclear question in relation to present developments. The excerpts from the response of Stalin to this question given below very well explain the consistent approach of socialist forces towards nuclear disarmament and world peace. They also show how the US imperialists and their allies are hell-bound to impose their nuclear hegemony over world people. They always talk about controlling others while stock-piling and reserving the right to use these brutal arsenal against others. Stalin has exposed this imperialist approach well. -RS]

1. FROM ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT OF THE 'SUNDAY TIMES', MR. ALEXANDER WERTH, IN A LETTER OF 17 SEPTEMBER, 1946.

24th September, 1946

Q. Do you believe that the actual monopoly of the United States on the atom bomb to be one of the greatest threats to peace?

A. I do not think that the atom bomb is such a power as certain politicians are disposed to state. The atom bomb is intended to frighten people with weak nerves, but it cannot decide the fate of a war, and would under no circumstances suffice for this purpose. Certainly, the monopoly on the secrets of the atom bomb poses a threat, but against that there are at least two things

- a) The monopoly on the possession of the atom bomb cannot last long;
- b) The use of the atom bomb will be forbidden.

Pravda, 25th September, 1946

2. FROM: ANSWER TO QUESTIONS OF 23RD OCTOBER, 1946, FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN NEWS AGENCY UNITED PRESS, HUGH BAILLIE.

29th October, 1946

Q. Does Russia already have the atom bomb or any similar weapon?

A. No.

Q. What is your opinion of the atom bomb or a similar weapon as an instrument of war?

A. I have already given my opinion of the

atom bomb in the well known answers to Mr Werth.

Q. In your opinion, how can atomic energy be best controlled? Should this control be founded on an international basis, and in what measure should the power of your sovereignty be sacrificed in the interests of the establishment of an effective control?

A. Strict international control is necessary. Pravda, 30th October, 1946

3. FROM: INTERVIEW WITH ELLIOT ROOSEVELT

27th December, 1946

Q. If you are of the opinion that the United Nations should control the atom bomb, must that not be done through inspection and the establishment of control over all research institutes and industrial plants that produce any manner of weapons as well as over the peaceful application and development of atomic energy?

(At this point, Elliot Roosevelt adds, Stalin immediately asked: 'In general?' I said: 'yes, but especially, is the Soviet Union in agreement in principle with such a plan?')

A. Of course. On the basis of the principle of equality it is not for the Soviet Union to make exceptions. It must submit to the same rules of inspection and control, like all the other countries.

(At this point Roosevelt remarks: This answer followed without hesitation and the question of the reservation of the right of veto was not even mentioned).

Q. Do you believe that the convocation of

a new assembly of the big three for the discussion of all international problems, the present threat to general peace would be useful?

A. I am of the opinion that not one assembly, but rather several, must take place. If several assemblies take place, very useful objectives would be served.

(Here Roosevelt remarks: At this moment my wife asked whether he thought that such meetings would help establish closer contacts on lower government levels too. She also asked whether such cooperation had been achieved through the conferences during the war.)

Stalin turned to her and answered with a smile: 'There is no doubt that the consultations of the war times and the successes achieved have greatly helped by the bringing about of a closer cooperation on lower government levels'.

Q. What do you think has caused the loosening of the friendly relations and mutual agreements between our two countries since the death of Roosevelt?

(From P. 17)

this "democracy imitating facade" is only the mask which permits the so-called "investors" - the same that, in United States at the turn of the century, were frankly called "Robber Barons" - to do whatever they wish, with our human and natural resources.

My intelligent people see the organized corruption, and the pessimist feeling pervades them. The same pessimism can be felt in the book *Jihad Against McWorld* written by Ben Barber, one of Clinton's advisors. But I do not agree with the thesis of this book that free-market behaves like a plane with an automatic pilot in which no one is able to correct the flight. To the contrary, the secrecy of the recent MAI treaty, as well as the "schedule" of the war in Yugoslavia (Zbig Brzezinski once said: "the card of Kosovo will be played the last") indicate that we witness a true Conspiracy of Investors. The "Robber Barons" of today are very well organized in bank corporations, and despite an external impression of a "chaotic progress," they behave in a very coherent way. These "pushers of modernity" do not act alone. Professor H. Sikolinowski, the guru of Polish ecologists, has recently observed. "Without much exaggeration one can say that high-paid intellectuals and a huge army of experts now form a new class of prostitutes. Regimes con-

A. I am of the opinion that, if this question concerns the relations and mutual agreement between the American and Russian people, they have not deteriorated at all, but on the contrary, they have improved. Concerning the relations of the two governments, there have been misunderstandings. There was a certain deterioration, then a big clamour arose that the relations would deteriorate further in the future. But I see nothing frightening in this. In the sense of damaging peace or in the sense of a military conflict. No one big power is presently able to, even if the government itself is striving to, raise a big army to fight against another Allied power, to set up another great power, because at the present nobody can make war without the people, but the people do not want to be led into another war. The people are tired of war, besides there is no obvious aim to justify a new war. Nobody would know what they were fighting for, and so I see nothing to be frightened of, in that some representatives of the government of the United States speak of the deterioration

sisting of enterprising, ever traveling "investors" in human stupidity, employing consenting prostitutes - and ritual scapegoats - as tools to acquire wealth and celebrity, were known already in deep antiquity."

In present, post-modernist times, the previous Spartan and Platonian values of the early European societies are completely forgotten, but the antique, pre-Christian and also the biblical concepts of the "social justice" are still present. As Noam Chomsky points out in his recent book *Year 501, the Conquest Continues*, the American people are brought-up with historical imaginations and social ideas borrowed from Old Testament. It is also well known that vicious, commercial "liberties" of the Anglo-Saxon civilization are in a large extent modeled on equally vicious biblical "freedom to rob and enslave," given by the Divine Providence to the "Chosen People".

The present commercial liberalism imposing total privatization, is an imported "antique novelty" of the European Continent. It prescribes the supremacy of the "part" - the "Chosen Nation of Investors" - over the "whole" - the rest of the Planet.

(Forward, Damascus, Syria)

in our relations. In regard of all these considerations, I do not believe in the danger of a new war.

Bolshevik, No. 1. 1947.

4. FROM: INTERVIEW WITH THE AMERICAN REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, HAROLD STASSEN

9th 4 April, 1947

Stassen said that for the raising of living standards the mechanization and electrification was of great importance, and the application of atomic energy in industry was of great importance for all the peoples as well as for the peoples of the U.S.S.R and the USA. He, Stassen, was of the opinion that the creating of an inspection and control system and that the use of atomic energy for military purpose should be declared illegal, was of great importance for all peoples of the world. Was Stalin of the opinion that in the future, they should come to terms over the control and regulation of the production of atomic energy and over its peaceful application?

Stalin answered that he hoped so. Between the USSR and the USA there stood great differences of opinion on this question, but finally both sides, -so he, Stalin, hoped, -would come to terms. In his, Stalin's, view there would need to be international control and inspection and this would be of great importance. The application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes would cause a great revolution in production procedure. Where the application of atomic energy for military purposes was concerned, it possibly would be forbidden. The desires and the conscience of the peoples demanded so.

Stassen answered that it was one of the most important problems. If it was solved, atomic energy could be a great blessing for the peoples of all the world, but if not, then a great curse.

Stalin said that he believed it would be possible to establish international control and inspection. The development moved towards that.

Pravda, 8th May 1947.

5. FROM: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS FROM THE EUROPEAN GENERAL DIRECTOR, OF THE AMERICAN NEWS AGENCY 'INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE' KINGSBURY SMITH. 27 JANUARY, 1949

Q. Would the government of the USSR be prepared to consider a joint publication with the government of the United States of America, to discuss a declaration which confirms that neither the one nor the other government intends to allow a war between them?

A. The Soviet government would be prepared to discuss the question of the publication of such a document.

Q. Would the government of the USSR be prepared, jointly with the government of the United States of America, to take steps towards the realization of this peace treaty, for example gradual disarmament?

A. Of course the government of the USSR would cooperate with the government of the United States of America in the carrying through of steps for the realization of the peace treaty and gradual disarmament.

Pravda, 31st January, 1948

6. FROM: INTERVIEW WITH A PRAVDA CORRESPONDENT.

17th February 1951

Prime Minister Attlee needs to lie about the Soviet Union; he must represent the peaceful politics of the Soviet Union as aggressive, and the aggressive politics of the English government as peaceful politics to mislead the English people, to blindfold them with this lie about the Soviet Union, and in this way drag them towards a new world war that would be organized by the warmongering circles in the USA.

Prime Minister Attlee pretends to be a flower of peace. But if he really is for peace, why was he against the proposal of the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organization on the conclusion of a peace pact between the Soviet Union, England, the USA, China and France?

If he really is for peace, why is he against the proposals of the Soviet Union to immediately begin to limit armaments and to immediately forbid atomic weapons?

If he really is for peace, why does he persecute those that intercede for the defence of peace; why has he forbidden the peace congress in England? Could the campaign for the defence of peace possibly threaten the security of England?

It is clear that Prime Minister Attlee is not for the keeping of peace, but rather for the unleashing of a new world-encompassing war of aggression...

Q. Do you hold a new world war to be unavoidable?

A. No. At least, one can, at present, hold it to be not unavoidable.

Of course, in the USA, in England and also in France, there are aggressive powers that long for a new war. They need war to achieve super profits and to plunder other countries. These are the billionaires and millionaires that regard war as a fountain of revenue that brings colossal profits.

They, the aggressive powers, hold the reactionary governments in their hands and guide them. But at the same time they are afraid of their people who do not want a new war and are for the keeping of peace. Therefore, they take the trouble of using the reactionary governments to ensnare their people with lies, to deceive them, to represent a new war as a war of defence, and the peaceful politics of peace-loving countries as aggressive. They take the trouble to deceive the people, to force them and draw them into a new war with their aggressive plans.

They therefore even fear the campaign for the defence of peace, they fear that this campaign would expose the aggressive intentions of the reactionary governments.

They therefore even oppose the proposals of the Soviet Union on the conclusion of a peace treaty on the limitation of armaments and on the forbidding of atomic weapons, they fear that the acceptance of these proposals would frustrate the aggressive measures of the reactionary governments and render the arms race unnecessary.

Where will all this struggle between the aggressive and the peace-loving powers end?

Peace will be kept and strengthened if the people take the holding of peace into their own hands and defend it to the utmost. War could be unavoidable if the arsonists of war succeed in trapping the masses with their lies, in deceiving them and in drawing them into a new war.

Now therefore, a broad campaign for the holding of peace, as a way of exposing the cri-

minal machinations of the arsonists of war, is of prime importance.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it will continue to carry through the politics of preventing war and keeping peace.

*For Lasting Peace, for People's Democracy
No. 8*

23rd February - 1st March, 1951.

7 FROM: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF A 'PRAVDA' CORRESPONDENT.

*On the Atomic Weapon
Pravda, 6th October, 1951*

Q. What do you think of the clamour in the foreign press these days in connection with an Atom bomb test in the Soviet Union?

A. As a matter of fact, we have carried out a test of a certain kind of Atom bomb. Tests with Atom bombs of different calibres will also continue, in accordance with the plans for the defence of our country against an attack carried out by the Anglo-American aggressive bloc.

Q. In connection with the Atom bomb test, various well-known personalities in the USA pretend to be alarmed and shout that the security of the USA is threatened. Is there any ground for such excitement?

A. There is no ground whatsoever for such excitement.

These well-known personalities in the USA cannot be unaware that the Soviet Union is not only against the application of Atomic weapons, but also for their forbidding, for the cessation of their production. As it is known, the Soviet Union has repeatedly demanded the forbidding of Atomic weapons, but each time they were refused by the powers of the Atlantic bloc. That signifies that in the case of an attack by the USA on our country, the ruling circles of the USA would use the Atom bomb. This circumstance has forced the Soviet Union to also own Atomic weapons to meet the aggressors well armed.

Of course, it would please the aggressors if the Soviet Union was unarmed in the case of them undertaking an attack. But the Soviet Union is not in agreement with that, and believes that one must meet the aggressor well armed.

Consequently, if the USA does not have the intention of attacking the Soviet Union, one must hold the excitement of well-known personalities of the USA as purposeless howling, as the Soviet Union is not thinking of attacking, at any time, the USA or any other country.

Well-known personalities of the USA are dissatisfied that not only the USA, but also other countries and, above all, the Soviet Union, possess the secret of atomic weapons. They would rather that the USA had the monopoly on Atom bomb production, that the USA had unlimited possibilities to frighten and blackmail other countries. What grounds do they have for really thinking so, what right do they have? Do the interests of safeguarding peace demand such a monopoly, perhaps? Would it not be more correct to say that it is exactly the opposite case, that the safeguarding of peace demands, above all, the liquidation of such monopolies and the unconditional forbidding of Atomic weapons? I think that the adherents of the Atom bomb would only agree to forbid Atomic weapons in the case of them seeing that they do not have the monopoly any more.

Q. What do you think to international control of the supply of Atomic weapons?

A. The Soviet Union is for the forbidding of Atomic weapons and for the suspension of the production of Atomic weapons. The Soviet Union is for the establishment of international control, for a decision on the forbidding of Atomic weapons, on the suspension of production of Atomic weapons and on the use of already manufactured Atom bombs for civilian purposes exclusively and conscientiously. The Soviet Union is for such an international control.

Well-known American personalities likewise speak of 'control', but their 'control' is based not on the suspension of the production of Atomic weapons but rather on the continuation of such production and, this to such an extent that concerns to the available sources of raw materials available to this or that country. Consequently, the American 'control' is not for the forbidding of Atomic weapons, but rather for their legalization and sanctioning. That would sanction the right of the arsonists of war, with the help of Atomic weapons, to annihilate tens of thousands, no, hundreds of thousands of peaceful people. It is not difficult to understand that this is not control, but rather a mockery of

control, a deception of the peace-desiring people. Of course, such a 'control' will not satisfy the peace-loving people, who demand the forbidding of Atomic weapons and the suspension of their production.

Unity, 18th October, 1951. p. 1313.

8. FROM: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

February 1, 1952

It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true.

The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went farther and pursued socialist aims.

It is possible that in a definite conjuncture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then it will no longer be the present-day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

What is most likely is that the present day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war. In its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a belligerent government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force—and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.

(From P. 6)

entry of imperialist capital. With the suppression of early onslaught of Naxalbari movement, the changes implemented in agrarian sector initiated the unprecedented emergence and growth of the capitalist farmers or agricultural bourgeoisie in various parts of the country, and the entry of imperialist capital and MNCs in this sector. With this though the economic aspects of feudal, semi-feudal or pre-capitalist relations started disappearing, the cultural values of feudal system were encouraged to survive. These were utilised by the powerfully emerging agricultural bourgeoisie, who are comprador in character, to make their agricultural operations highly profitable. Along with the big bourgeoisie and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, these agricultural bourgeoisie and big landlords, all of whom were comprador in character and are happy to operate hands-in-glove with the imperialist system, constituted the ruling classes in India. As the years passed these ruling classes and imperialists behind them started exhibiting increasingly authoritarian urges. In spite of the contradictions among them they worked for complete hegemonism. The first phase of entry of IMF loans and opening-up in 1980s followed by the open liberalisation policies initiated in the very beginning of 1990s overwhelmingly accelerated this authoritarian process. It is these classes working in close proximity with imperialist finance capital who provide the class basis for fascistisation in the neocolonies like India.

In the 1970s Congress (I), the then main political representative of these ruling classes tried to provide the ideological base for this fascistisation with its populist slogans like 'garibi hatao' and national jingoism. In this context it will be useful to quote Dimitrov. He said: "The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass basis and in which the struggle of various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allow the other bourgeois parties as well as the social democratic parties to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either imme-

diately or intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from trying to extend its basis and without altering its class nature, trying to combine open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism".

He continued to state that the accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—by another form—open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake liable to prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilising the widest strata of the working people for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by fascists, and from taking advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Similarly it will be a mistake to underrate the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie increasingly developing in bourgeois-democratic countries' measures which suppress the democratic liberties of the working people, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the regression of the revolutionary movement. "Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preliminary stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but on the contrary facilitates that victory" (Dimitrov).

In the 1970s CPI(M)-CPI forces due to their degeneration to class-collaborationist social democratic positions, and the revolutionary left due to its sectarian line could not play leading role in mobilising the working masses under proletarian leadership against the fascist tendencies exhibited by the Indira regime. Still Congress (I) could not go ahead on this line due to acute contradictions within the bourgeoisie internally, directly or indirectly linked with the then acute contradiction between the two superpowers.

But this picture started changing from the 1980s. The Hindutva forces have come forward pursuing its political aims by adapting its hitherto shrill and narrow petty-bourgeois ideology to the present requirement of the ruling classes and the imperialist forces. It is deploying the ideology of *Hindu Rashtra*, the language of *cultural nationalism* to serve the comprador ruling class interests. Like the justification of the

aggression on Iraq and Yugoslavia by US imperialists as a defence of 'American way of life', the Hindutva forces utilise the resources of 'tradition' to defend privileges for the right to rule. Internal dissent is managed by suppressing it as *alien*, dissentors termed 'enemies within'.

Alongwith the new economic strategies pursued under liberalisation-globalisation by the state, the fascist tendencies ranging from the aggression of the local elites and police forces against all oppressed sections to the hindutva forces as an organised authoritarian option are on the rise. The comprador ruling classes have started liking hindutva as its most resolute domestic face, with the erosion of the Congress hegemony. And the Sangh Parivar has started making its brand of cultural nationalism work by identifying the nation with the dominant identity, the case of the 'Hindu' bourgeoisie within it, and by formulating all threats to it as threats to the nation, defined as originating from the demonised minorities. As mentioned earlier as in the case of NF in France, through persistent propaganda and assertion the religious fundamentalist thinking that religion and the cultural nationalism it spreads must be part of any acceptable humane and tolerant polity is made acceptable to more by challenging the secular concept theoretically and practically. Contrary to what is being put forward by the pseudo left forces led by CPI (M)-CPI, the challenge posed by Sangh Parivar cannot be overthrown merely by replacing Vajpayee government with a Congress (I)-led government, or through such short cuts. The challenge is more serious and fundamental.

Immediate tasks

The first cardinal point is to correctly understand that in the concrete situations fascistisation can take place and are taking place in the imperialist countries as well as in the former colonies/semi-colonies which are transformed to neocolonies in the post-war situation, and which have come under intensifying liberalisation globalisation. In these neocolonies the comprador ruling classes who are getting more and more integrated with international market system provide the class-basis for this fascistisation. The forces of fascism may utilise communal and feudal forces and values to entrench themselves. But refusing to see the role of imperialism through neocolonisation, and comprador ruling classes as the class basis for fascistisation under

intensifying liberalisation - globalisation shall lead to basically erroneous positions.

The second point is to recognise the process of development of fascistisation. Those who equate rise and fall of fascism with the ascendance to power or fall of a BJP led government, or merely to the threats posed by Sangh Parivar, are missing or rejecting the cardinal questions. Possibilities for rise and spread of fascist tendencies powerfully exist under the ruling classes in the present socio economic political system. Since it is Sangh Parivar with its Hindu fundamentalist ideological positions through which fascist tendencies are most expressively manifested should not mislead anyone to confine the fascist danger to it alone. Similarly, to declare that fascism has come to power with the BJP-led government coming to power and run for making all sorts of compromises with an arch-reactionary party like Congress (I) in the name of fighting fascism as the CPI (M)-CPI leadership did amounts to liquidating the progressive forces.

The third significant point is that instead of neglecting the fascist danger, or over reacting by stating that fascism has to come to power as the CPI(M)-CPI leaders did once BJP-led government took over, we should see the growing threat of fascism in Indian polity, and its relation with the intensification of neocolonisation which intensifies all social contradictions. As Dimitrov pointed out in his report to Seventh Congress of the CI, failure to recognise and start combating the growth of fascist tendencies from the preliminary stages itself will only lead to facilitating the victory of fascism. So neither underrating nor over-reacting the fascist danger, the left forces should concretely analyse the situation and get prepared to combat all fascist tendencies.

History has repeatedly proved in various countries that neither the ruling class parties of the centrist or left-of-centre or rightist varieties, nor the social democratic forces shall come forward to fight against fascism. On the contrary, at the critical junctures they have only compromised or gone over to the side of fascist forces. Besides the growth of fascist tendencies are integrally linked to intensifying neocolonisation and imperialist general crisis. Only the genuine left forces can play the leading role in the struggle against both these threats of grow-

ing, fascist tendencies and intensifying neocolonisation. The Communist party should give overall leadership to it.

The fall of BJP-led government at centre has not brought about any major changes in Indian political scene. It does not in any way mean belittling the significance of the end of Vajpayee government. To a very large measure it was the mounting people's resistance, manifested through numerous struggles against the liberalisation—globalisation policies implemented at a faster pace and the growing fascist threats from Sangh Parivar which created a situation of sharpening contradictions among the ruling class parties that led to its downfall. But the formation of a Congress led government with the same imperialist dictated economic agenda and compromising attitude towards all communal and casteist forces is not going to advance the struggle against the growing fascist threats. On the contrary such opportunistic alliances and Congress-led government shall only help the Sangh Parivar to stage a come-back.

What is required today is the building up of a people's alternative under the leadership of the revolutionary left forces with an anti-imperialist democratic programme to fight against both liberalisation-globalisation policies and against the growing fascist threats

(From P.26)

have stopped trains carrying imported maize by placing objects on the tracks so they can take the grain. As well as the EZLN, two new guerrilla groups have emerged since the Zapatistas' uprising, first the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR) and then the Insurgent Popular Revolutionary Army (EPRI), arising in the poor southern state of Guerrero around Acapulco and have now spread to half of Mexico's states, including the centre and north.

So in response to the attacks by the neo-liberal model of capitalism, a new wave of the popular, revolutionary and national liberation movements has risen. Far from being the 'End of History' that was predicted a few years ago, in which capitalism would rule triumphant and unopposed, in El Salvador, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) that fought a guerrilla war against a procession

of US backed military governments in the 80s, has now come within 8000 votes of victory on a resolutely socialist-revolutionary platform against an "anyone but the FMLN" alliance. As Juan a campesino from Suchitoto, puts it, "Everyone knows who bombed us during the war. We all vote for the Frente (FMLN), whoever they chose as candidate. In addition putting history aside, ARENA is in the World Bank pocket. We want a government who will defend our interests not simply sell everything off." (Referring to ARENA privatisation policies.)

Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front has also strengthened, getting to within 10-5% of victory, and are still strengthening as the government's disastrous policies bite deeper. Revolutionary Forces in many countries have made spectacular gains in the last few years.

The Neo-Liberal model and the IMF attack, bringing misery and oppression but the people fight back!

* The term "No liberal" often confuses people because the word "liberal" was often used to describe progressive politics. However, under neo-liberalism, freedom is for money and capital rather than people. The neo-liberalism model is the latest form of capitalism, decorated with "democratic" trimmings, replacing earlier less disguised, and less 'pure' capitalist models.

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(From P. 2)

The results have been brutal-Nicaragua's economy has shrunk to its 1945 size, worse than in the 1980s during the blockade and contra devastation, Unemployment and under employment has soared to 60%, only 18% of the capital Managua's population can afford three meals a day. Illiteracy that had been reduced from over 50% to 12% during the 1979-1990 Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) government has risen to 30%. This was all before Hurricane Mitch,

Mitch has rightly been called a "neo-liberal disaster", the tragedy has been made infinitely worse by rightist government policies, mostly imposed from outside. Cuts in public spending have drastically reduced the government's ability to cope with the situation, the army has been cut back, as have the police and the emergency services. In neighbouring Honduras, hundreds or even thousands died when their flimsy homes were washed away by swollen rivers. Even after the disaster, most survivors have no choice but to go back to where they lived on waste land next to the rivers, and build new homes on the same spot, because all the suitable land has been taken by wealthy farmers and multinational "agribusiness" for export production as the IMF demands. The export oriented crop production has meant there is a general food shortage for the people, and Hurricane Mitch has made it far worse by destroying crops.

In El Salvador, people were not warned about rising rivers, and 2000 people were buried in Nicaragua when a volcano crater full of water collapsed in a land slide, which have been prevented by an evacuation. While tens of thousands of people had been cut off without clean water, food or homes in the countryside, and in the towns whole neighbourhoods had been washed away, the army was patrolling the streets of wealthy areas of San Salvador. The landslides and flooding were caused by deforestation as much as heavy rainfall. Without the trees to shelter the soil and hold it in place on the slopes with their roots, it just slid away burying people and their homes.

This environmental devastation can also be traced to the neo-liberal model and IMF demands. Hillside covered in forest have been clear felled by logging companies as a means of

Increasing exports, peasants forced off the better land by the export oriented landowners have had to clear poor quality land to grow their crops. The ruthless dictatorship of the neo-liberal model and the IMF is just as brutal as any of the past military governments, and is more insidious and difficult to fight since it is dictated from outside the individual countries. Not only is it devastating to people, but also to nature, and to make it worse when the people are hit the environment suffers, and when the environment is hit, the people suffer.

Just across the Caribbean Sea on the island of Cuba, where the neo-liberal model has not managed to force its way, when Hurricane Georges hit this year, after killing hundreds of people on other islands, only six people died (fewer than in storms in Britain over the New Year 1998-1999). This was because hundreds of thousands of people were evacuated from affected areas, action was immediate and the islands forests have almost uniquely increased over the last 40 years. This was all made possible, despite the severe effects of the US blockade, because Cuba has deferred its independence and so has not been forced to accept neo-liberalism, in which the states' only functions are to passively support and provide. Internal and external security for a free market.

Moving north, Mexico has not escaped the cold wind of neo-liberalism. Long regarded as one of Latin America's most stable and "successful" economies, in the last few years IMF demands following their bail out loans to that country have caused social resistance unheard of before. The Institution Revolutionary Party which has governed continuously since 1929 has its hold on power crumbling. Opposition like the centre-leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution has grown.

On the same day, 1. January 1994, as Mexico entered the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA) the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) emerged in an uprising in the southern state of Chiapas, occupying the state capital and other major towns in protest of neo-liberalism, much to the surprise of the government. Since then, NAFTA has meant that Mexican peasants who live by growing maize, have been unable to compete with US and Canadian imports. As a result whole hungry communities

(Contd. P. 25)

New Exim Policy: All round attack on peasants and workers

The BJP-led central government and its commerce ministry led by one-time Lohia socialist Rama Krishna Hegde are in a hurry to please WTO. When WTO wants that all restrictions on imports should be phased out and fully removed by 2003, they are working overtime to get it done even before this shaky ministry is toppled. This overzealousness to serve the imperialist masters is proved by the New Exim Policy for 1999-2000 announced by Hegde on 31 March. Through further liberalisation it provides added incentives to importers. 894 more items are shifted to free import list. Another 414 items are shifted to special import licence category. Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are converted to Free Trade Zones (FTZs).

This Exim policy will hit the agricultural sector very seriously. The import of a wide range of agricultural products, cash crops, plantation crops and processed food items will hit hard Indian peasants who are already devastated through the liberalisation. The case of mass suicides of peasantry, and impoverishment of agricultural workers and poor marginal peasants is going to be on the rise.

Along with agricultural products many manufactured goods also will be dumped as a result of this policy. MNCs will resort to dumping to destroy indigenous industries. Millions more of the working class are going to be thrown out to the streets.

Hegde has shamelessly glorified conversion of EPZs, to FTZs saying that it will help to corporatize the FTZs. He also said that even existing labour laws will not be applicable in FTZs. MNCs and native compradors will be given free license to plunder the workers. Hegde is impatient to wait till the report of the National Labour Commission appointed to satisfy IMF:WB conditionalities are received when even most of the existing TU rights are going to be snatched away.

The new exim policy exposes the sham nature of the *Swadeshi* of Sangh Parivar further. Vajpayee government like its predecessors is out and out a government of compradors shamelessly serving imperialist interests.

The new exim policy should be outrightly exposed and opposed. Peasantry and working class should be organised to beat back this reactionary offensive by Vajpayee government.

Multilateral agencies can also invest in insurance sector

With the privatisation of insurance sector forming Insurance Regulatory Authority central government has already allowed 26 percent foreign equity. Now Vajpayee government has taken another step for sell out of this sector by allowing multilateral funding agencies like Asian Development Bank to pick up equity in insurance sector over and above this 26%. It means a total sell-out of this sector for the plunder of foreign capital.

Nalco disinvestment

As the sell out of all Public Sector Undertakings continue at increasing pace the shares of Nalco one of the low-cost manufacturers of aluminium with extremely enviable track record of profitability is also being sold. It is reported that during the selling of Rs. 561.52 crores worth of shares at least Rs. 36 crores were last due to under-selling. Reports of corruption of hundreds of crores are continuously coming out from the time Rao government started disinvestment. Vajpayee government is in more of a hurry to disinvestment and pocket huge amounts.

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Came out on the streets, Make it a really Red May Day

The working class and oppressed masses all over the world are observing May Day this year at a very critical time. The imperialist camp along with its compradors and running dogs of all brands are engaged in relentlessly unleashing intensifying onslaughts against them by all means. Through the most aggressive imperialist globalisation the former colonies/semi-colonies are turned into neo-colonies dragging the oppressed masses there to unprecedented pauperisation and devastation. Under liberalisation the working class everywhere are increasingly thrown out to the streets, snatching away even the existing economic and democratic rights they had won through numerous past struggles. While the reserve army of unemployed is increasing day by day, through contract labour and hire-and-fire systems the wage slavery is taken to most oppressive levels. Selfish, corrupting and dehumanising capitalist value system is imposed through all pernicious ways. Criminalising and alienating imperialist culture is propagated utilising the latest electronic gadgets.

Along with these economic, political and cultural aggressive acts ethnic, racist, nationalist religious fundamentalist like issues existing in almost all countries are utilised in most heinous ways to divide the people and disintegrate these countries according to the whims and fancies of imperialist powers. Side by side these issues are utilised to fascicise the existing ruling state systems. Besides, under the pretext of resolving these questions, or in the name of implementing the so-called decisions of the already redundant United Nations taken as dictated by the imperialist camp led by US imperialism, Iraq and now Yugoslavia have come under naked aggression. Under reactionary propaganda blitzkrieg and disinformation campaign, black is turned into white, and these naked aggressions are being justified as humanitarian steps. More than ever the imperialist gangsters are exposed as out and out enemies of the world people.

These 'neo-liberal' and fascist offensives by the imperialist camp against the working class and oppressed peoples are intensifying day by day. In this momentous occasion of welcoming a new millennium, utilising the setbacks suffered by the socialist forces, the imperialist camp has unleashed the most brutal aggressive actions in order to perpetuate its hegemony in all spheres.

But these aggressions are not going unchallenged. Both in the imperialist countries and neo-colonies the working class and the oppressed masses are coming up through numerous struggles challenging the brutal ruling system. The last few years have witnessed many such mighty revolts in a number of countries. But the working class has not liberated itself from its setbacks and is not yet politically ready to lead these struggles. That a vanguard force with a correct ideological-political line has not come forward yet once again to lead these struggles is a major weakness.

Yet the mighty resurgence of the various movements of the workers and other toiling masses are becoming visible everywhere with the intensification of the general-crisis of the imperialist system. The workers and all toilers have started revolting. These developments show that the new millennium shall be one of mighty leaps of the democratic and socialist movements, and of consolidating of the socialist forces.

To make it true, against imperialist globalisation let us raise the banner of proletarian internationalism. Let the proletariat and oppressed masses come out on the streets on this May Day with battle-cries against the heinous and sinister imperialist system.

Down with Imperialism,

Hold High the Red Banner of Proletarian Internationalism.

22 April 1999

CPI (ML) Red Flag.

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